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Goals For Americans By Wm. L. Langer

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Bolstering Japan And India

(Ed. Note—This is a continuing series of condensations from chapters written by eminent American authorities for publication with the Report from President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals. The series speaks importantly to all Americans about vital areas of our national life and what we can do to help our nation achieve its objectives. This article has been prepared by Dr. William L. Langer, Coolidge Professor of History at Harvard, former chief of research and analysis for the Office of Strategic Services and former chairman of the Board of National Estimates of the Central Intelligence Agency.)

From the American standpoint Japan is as important for the defense of the free world in Asia as Germany in Europe.

Japan is a key bulwark against Communist domination of all Asia. It is therefore a prime interest of the United States to contribute in every way possible to the maintenance of close military, economic and cultural ties.

Fortunately a large majority of the population appreciates the need for the alliance with the United States if Japan is to hold its own against growing Communist power. But there is a genuine danger lest extremists on the right as well as on the left regain their influence through economic stringency or through inept handling of their susceptibilities on the part of the United States.

Since the prosperity of Japan hinges on its foreign trade, the United States should help facilitate Japanese trade relations not only with the free nations of Asia but also with European and American countries.

The United States should devote continuing attention to the promotion of understanding with Japan and to the development of common interests. For example, the close association of Japan with plans for aid to the less developed countries of South and Southeast Asia would make for constant, intimate co-operation.

Japan, despite its success in reducing the birth rate and relieving the population pressure for the future, is still an overpopulated country and depends for its well-being on an active and extensive foreign trade.

In the past China was one of the largest and most profitable markets for the products of Japanese industry. It is therefore natural that there should be forces in present-day Japan working for an accommodation with Communist China that would reopen the continent to Japanese trade.

While there is but little support for communism in Japan, there has developed a strong pacifist and neutralist attitude, encouraged in the period of the occupation by American policy. As the one nation that has actually suffered atomic attack and is at the same time particularly exposed to the fallout resulting from Soviet nuclear tests, the Japanese as a people are passionately opposed to the new weapons and to every aspect of nuclear war. The growth of neutralist sentiment has led to noisy agitation against the alliance with the United States and to opposition to the use of Japanese bases for purposes of nuclear warfare.

India, though not definitely aligned with the nations of the free world, has, however, chosen the democratic road. Its example is crucial to the further development of representative institutions in other Asian countries.

It is therefore in the interest of the United States to lend India sympathy and support.

The problem of economic development in India is of such magnitude that large-scale assistance on a long-term basis is indispensable. For the sake of the huge Indian population as well as for the safeguarding of free institutions in Asia, the United States should continue to give unstinting, long-term economic and technical aid.

At the same time the United States should use its influence in behalf of compromise in the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, and should give India all appropriate diplomatic support in resisting the territorial claims of Communist China in the Himalayan area.

The situation in Southeast Asia is at best precarious. Several of the states are united in defensive alliance with the United States and other nations of the free world. These states, for the most part newly independent, lack stability and power and are directly exposed to Communist pressure and subversion.

The United States has a genuine interest in aiding them to organize and strengthen their military defenses and at the same time in contributing to the establishment and development of representative institutions by providing economic and technical support.

The military resources of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization are necessarily limited. The future of the area will therefore depend largely on the increase of stability through prosperity and confidence.

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